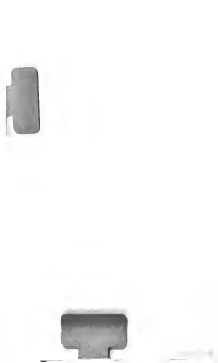


**OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
STATISTICAL
TABLET OF
KARNAK BY...**

Samuel Birch





*Prof. Marcellini
with the author's name*

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OBSERVATIONS

ON

THE STATISTICAL TABLE OF KARNAK.

BY SAMUEL BIRCH, ESQ.

(From the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature," vol. x. new Series.)



OBSERVATIONS ON THE STATISTICAL TABLET OF KARNAK.

THE term statistical tablet of Karnak¹ has been applied to a monument which, although it has enjoyed a great European reputation, has not as yet been subjected to that analysis which it merits. Formerly it was part of the right-hand wall as a spectator enters the granite sanctuary of Karnak;² it now is one of the treasures of Egyptian art lying in the magazine of the Louvre. The inscription is in bas-relief upon sandstone, and consists of a large portion, containing fifty-four perpendicular lines of hieroglyphics, all mutilated to the extent of about one-half; to which must be added a small piece containing the commencement of eight more lines, giving a total of sixty-two lines. The whole is surmounted by two other lines, one much larger than the other. This tablet may be pronounced, without hesitation, the most important extant for the history and commerce of Central Asia. A copy of the tablet was made, when it was *in situ*, by Sir Gardner Wilkinson,³ and another has been published by Dr.

¹ See Rosellini, *M. Et. ant. It. Pto. 1*, p. 185; Champollion, *Gr. Eg.* p. 121, *et seq.*; *Dict.* pp. 118, 123, 131, 335, 367, 369.

² Rosellini, *loc. cit.*

³ Young, Thomas, *Hieroglyphics*, fol. London, 1822, Pl. lxxi.-lxxii.

Lepsius¹ from the monument after its removal : for the present analysis both have been consulted ; for if the later copy is in some places more accurate, the earlier often exhibits important additions to the text.

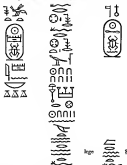
The object of the inscription was to record the expeditions undertaken by the monarch Thothmes III., and the tributes received from his twenty-ninth regnal year, and it appears more than probable that the tablet was the continuation of another of similar import ; for the first expedition recorded is the *fifth*, and this happened in the twenty-ninth regnal year ; the *sixth* expedition was in his thirtieth year, and the *seventh* in his thirty-fifth year : a *thirteenth* expedition is mentioned, but, owing to the mutilation of the monument, the corresponding regnal year is wanting.* At least three more expeditions must have been recorded, but the commencement of them has disappeared through the great mutilation of the tablet, caused by the ravages of time. The following is the coeval chronology of the expeditions and regnal years :

| Expedition. | Regnal Year. |
|-------------|--------------|
| V. | 29-30. |
| VI. | 30-31. |
| VII. | 31-32. |
| VIII. | 32-33. |
| IX. | 33-34. |
| X. | 34-35. |
| XI. | 35-36. |
| XII. | 36-37. |
| XIII. | 37-38. |
| XIV. | 38-39. |
| XV. | 39-40. |
| XVI. | 40-41. |

Otherwise we must suppose a year of repose to have

¹ *Auswahl der Wichtigsten Urkunden*, in. Leipz. 1844, Taf. an.

elapsed, as each expedition is dated in the commencement of a regnal year. Nor is this date inconsistent with the regnal years of the reign of Thothmes III.; for the first of the four colossi, representing the monarch Thothmes I., (whose name occurs on the belt,) placed on the left hand, before the gate of the third propylon which leads out of the south side of the great temple at Karnak, (on which the monarch Thothmes II. is represented standing between two divinities,) bears the following mutilated inscription on the back.*



"The king of the upper and lower country, the Sun, establisher of beings [Thothmes III.], beloved of Amun-ra, lord of the thrones of the world, [has executed

* Rosellini, *M.-Et. Fir. e. tom. iii.* pp. 153, 154. *Tab. vi.* pag. 49. 2.

this with," or, "out of his constructions] at the southern region, on the 22nd of Thoth, in his 42nd year in the name of his father the good God, the Sun, the greatest of created beings," [Thothmes I.]

There is a doubt as to the meaning of the group immediately following the date, which might make it that of one of the cycles of panegyrics, or festivals, but none whatever can exist as to the restoration of the last part; and it must not be forgotten that the regent sister of this monarch shared the government with her brother, Thothmes III., up to his 16th regnal year at least, as appears from the tablet of the Wadi Magara, published by Leon de Laborde.⁴ Still there is a period of ten years to account for between this date and the commencement of the tablet, the twenty-ninth year: yet, as on all these monuments her name invariably precedes that of Thothmes III., and as she, in her own name, dedicated the two great obelisks before the second pylon, I am disposed to consider that the twenty-ninth regnal year of the tablet is dated from the death of her father, Thothmes I., and that the reign of Thothmes II. was short, and chronologically insignificant; while the name of the queen was omitted in the tablet of Akydos from the objection to female influence, and because her reign, as collateral, was comprehended in that of her two brothers. On monuments executed during her power she takes the precedence of Thothmes III., but the sculptor's chisel, which has erased her name from every accessible monument throughout the country, indicates the galling nature of her influence.

Prior to the eighteenth dynasty, our knowledge of the external politics of Egypt is very limited; yet there

⁴ *Voyage en Arabie Pétrée*, Pl. viii.

seems reason for believing that they had extensive influence both in a northern and southerly direction. The temple of Athor, the mistress of the Mokka, or copper-land, as the Wadi Magara was called, was founded as early as Khufu or Cheops, and the rich mines of copper then opened continued to be explored by his successors down to the eighteenth dynasty. An officer of User-kam I., as recorded in his tomb at Beni-Hassan, received in the regnal year of that monarch, by royal command, a convoy of thirty-nine *Mes-segem*,⁷ foreigners, headed by their *hyk* or leader, *Ab-sha*. These were of the great Semitic family, called by the Egyptians *hamu*. The presents they offer do not show any marks of wealth, but their costume and equipments coincide with what we know of the Semitic borderers upon Egypt. In the mean time, the same monarch had pushed his conquests far south, and recorded several of his Ethiopian prisoners on a tablet at the Wadi Halfa.*

⁷ These people have been conjectured to be the Hebrews. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, i. 236, Plate iv. See also a writer in the *Westminster Review*, reading *sh-sham*, from *Sham*; Rosellini, *Mon. Stor. Pic.* i. tom. iii. p. 56, et seq.; and Champollion (*Lettres Égypt.* pp. 76, 77; *Inscriptions*, Pl. iv. p. 75) even conjectured them to be Greeks, from the meander patterns on their garments. Mr. Oshara (*Egypt, Her Destiny*, p. 34-35) reads the name *Ab-sha* as that of the people, and supposes them to be the Jebusites. I return to the reading—*hamu* for the nation, (*Hilcke*, *Trans. R. I. Acad.* 1847.) *Mes-segem* for the title; and *Ab-sha* for the prince, not the name of the god, as Rosellini (*Mon. Stor.* tom. iii. *Pic.* i. p. 55) has made it. As a proper name, it may be compared with *Abshas*, I *Che.* vi. 4; and *Abshai*, I *Sass.* xxv. 6. *Messem* does not mean "arbiters producing," but a perfume, or kind of perfume, as "arbiters-in-hand."—*Leptus*, *Tiedtschack*, *Taf.* xxx. c. 144, l. 30.

⁸ Now in the *Museo E. Etrusco*, at Florence. Champollion, *Mon.* tom. i. Pl. i.; Rosellini, *M. E.* xxx. Amenemhat II. conquered

The political influence of the 12th dynasty in Nubia is indicated by the immense fortifications in the gorges of the Nile close to Semneh, by the tablets recording the heights attained by the Nile, executed by the User-t-sens and Amenemhats of that line,⁸ and by the subsequent deification of the head of this dynasty at Semneh: there is consequently ample proof that at this period the dominion of Egypt reached from the Arabian peninsula to 23° s. l.

Between the close of the twelfth and the rise of the eighteenth dynasty is a monumental gap, generally attributed to a northern invasion of a pastoral race called Hyk Shas, or "Shepherd rulers," a people who were on the confines of Egypt as late as the commencement of the nineteenth dynasty,⁹ and who bear evidence of being a Semitic and not Aphetic race, as has been usually conjectured.¹⁰ But the eighteenth dynasty undoubtedly opened with particular splendour, both as regards the arts and the external politics of Egypt. Champollion¹¹ has cited the inscription of a tablet, unfortunately never published, of a naval officer of this monarch who entered the service of the king when he was

P'tou-t, probably the Fara, or Labyas.—Wilkinson, *Monuments and Customs*, s. tom. i. p. 43.

⁸ Rapport de M. le Rev. Dr. Shaker, *compagnon de Voyage de Dr. Lepsius*, fait à la Société Egyptienne de Calcutta, en assemblée générale sur leur voyage en Nubie, adressé par M. le Dr. Perrot, in the "Bulletin de la Société de Géographie," Soc. Par. 1843, 2^{me} série, tom. x. p. 135-137. See also the letters of Dr. Lepsius in the Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences; Philadelphia, 21st Jan. 1845, Pt. viii.

⁹ One of the first campaigns of Sethos I. was to attack the Shas, "who are on the borders of Tyre [probably Phœnicians], which is towards the land of Canaan."—Roullé, *M. E.* xviii.

¹⁰ See, however, Dr. Huxton, *Canaan Egyptienne*, p. 53.

¹¹ Champollion-Figeac, *Egypte Ancienne*, Soc. Paris, 1835, p. 303.

at Tanis, recording that many combats took place upon the water, and that a corps of troops under this officer was directed against the enemy southward; that these wars lasted till the sixth year of Ashmes, and that in the following years the monarch went to Ethiopia to levy tribute. These events have been referred to the period immediately prior to the expulsion of the shepherds from Avaris, and indeed from this account the Delta appears to have been still in the occupation of the Shos;¹² but some additional light on the events of the period is afforded by a tablet of calcareous stone removed from Egypt by Champollion, and now in the magazine of the Louvre.¹³ It is a tablet recording the services of a certain Ashmes or Amase, surnamed Peneben, under the early princes of the eighteenth dynasty.

This officer appears to have belonged to the nomarchs or military cast, having charge of the signal, and of the captured objects, and he makes the following declaration :

" I have served the king, the Sun, the vigilant (?) lord [Amasis I. xviii. dynasty]. I took for him in . . . two living hands; I served the Sun, who distributes

¹² There is, however, a tablet in the quarries of Mansara, (Vyse's *Journal*, vol. iii.—*Mansara Quarries*;) close to Tumb, the Egyptian Bah, or the Mons Taurus, in the vicinity of Gizeh, dated in the twenty-second regnal year of this monarch, and recording that the quarries were then worked for the construction of the temples of Ptah in Memphis, and of Amen-em in Thebes, which proves that at that period the whole of Egypt had been recovered by the native rulers.

¹³ Lepsius, *Auswahl der Wichtigsten Urkunden des Aegyptischen Alterthums*, 2e. Leipz. 1843, Taf. xlv. a. v. Translations of some detached parts of this inscription will be found in Champollion, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 146, 324, 325, 406, 422.

offerings [Amenophis I.]. I took for him in Kesh [Cush, Ethiopia] one strong living captive. I did it for the king, the Sun, who distributes offering [Amenophis I.], declared true: I took for him in the north from Kesh or Anakehah three hands: I served the king, the Sun, great creator of offering [Thothmes I.], declared true: I took for him in the land of Kesh [Cush, Ethiopia] two living captives: the journey of the captives brought by me from Kesh I do not reckon:¹² I acted for the king, the great creator of offering [Thothmes I.]. I captured for him in the land of Naharain twenty-one hands, a horse, and a chariot; also I served the king, the Sun, the greatest of creators [Thothmes II.], declared true: I led from the Shasu [the Sheu] great and numerous captives: I do not reckon them."¹³

The language of this inscription is tolerably explicit: what the officer means by hands¹⁴ are persons that he has either killed, or subdued and mutilated; for the Egyptians reckoned their killed enemies by their hands, which were brought into the camp and counted, or, as a surer method, by their foreskins, which showed the dishonour of their uncircumcised enemies, and prevented deception. The spoil taken indeed is not great, but affords sufficient evidence of the prowess of the hero. The following are the historical deductions which may be drawn from it:

¹² There is some difficulty about the meaning here: *sh* (the pocket) is determinative of several ideas. I have once found it when placed alone, as *sh* *sh* *sh*, here, "to clothe," as the officer here uses a negative, and does not specify, the sense is probably something of the kind I have given in the text. Cf. also the expression *sh* *sh* *sh*, "reckoning words; confusing."—Lepsius, *Deutsche Arch.* vol. xvii. p. 133, n. 2.

¹³ "Gold hand" was the appellation of a kind of hand-axe. Champollion, *Mém. de l'Égypte*, t. II. Pl. cxxviii.

Reign of Amasis I., campaign against [the south.]

Reign of Amenophis I., campaign against the Ethiopians and Amakchak, or Kehak,¹⁷ in the North.

Reign of Thothmes I., campaigns of Ethiopia in the commencement, and of Nubarsina or Mesopotamia towards the close.

Reign of Thothmes II., troubles with the Shasu or Shos, nomadic tribes of the Arabian peninsula and Palestine.

There is a fragment of a tablet on the south front of the western temple at Samach, of similar import, which appears to have been mutilated during the reign of Ramesses II. by having another inscription cut over it. Although badly copied, and containing only part of fourteen vertical lines, it may be gathered from it, that it is of an officer speaking in the first person, who records the appointments and donatives he had received under the reigns of Ashmes I., Thothmes I., and probably Amenophis I. He appears to have been appointed by Thothmes I., prince of Ethiopia.¹⁸

The inscription on the other tablet (a) is not so distinct, nor is it so necessary for the purpose of our inquiry: it contains some additional titles and qualifications of the officer Ashmes, surnamed Ponsuben; it appears to be—

"I poured forth the libations of the king (P), the ever living ruler—I never left the king from his first appearance (P) . . . having acted well" for the king,

¹⁷ These people are mentioned, *Select Papyri*, Pl. 22, l. 4; and are conjectured by Dr. Hincks ('An Attempt to ascertain the Letters of the Hieroglyphs, or Ancient Egyptian Alphabet,' 4th, Dub. 1847, p. 73, note) to be a Tartar tribe.

¹⁸ Young, *Hieroglyphica*, Pl. xci.

¹⁹ I do not feel quite certain that the expression *sefer-ut or suter* does not rather mean "reversed by the flag."

the Sun, the foreseeing (?) lord [Amasis I.], having done well for the king, the Sun, the chief of created beings [Thothmes II.]. I was one of the [servants] who were under the king, and having done good to the king, the Sun establishing creation [Thothmes III.], I received (?) from the king, the Sun, who places offering [Amenophis I.], two armlets of gold, two collars, a gold anulet, a poniard, and a crown of enamel(?) [or-glass]. I received of the king, the Sun, greatest of created beings [Thothmes I.], two gold bracelets, four collars, an anulet, [a poniard decorated with] lions, and two gold hatchets: I received of the king, the Sun, greatest of created beings [Thothmes II.], two gold armlets, six collars, four anulets of porcelain, and a (?) silver war-axe."

The consideration of this tablet is important for the supposed chronology of this dynasty, for

| | Yrs. | Mon. |
|--------------------------------------|------|------|
| Amasis I. reigned at least | 21 | 9 |
| Amenophis I. | 26 | 4 |
| Thothmes I. | 13 | 0 |
| Thothmes II. | 36 | 7 |
| Making a total of | 66 | 11. |

but this would be a length of military service unprecedented in the annals of the world. The cipher of the reigns must be too high, for forty years would be a long period of active military service. There is but little contemporary notice of these political events. Certain pectoral plates²⁰ of Amenophis I. show that he had vanquished both northern and southern enemies; while the spoils at Idrim²¹ attests the continued

²⁰ Rawlinson, *M. St. mon. vol. Part 1 Tab. m. ann.*

²¹ Rawlinson, *loc. cit.* p. 73.

occupation of Nubia by the Pharaohs; and inscriptions as far south as the Isle of Argo with the name of Thothmes I., and that of Thothmes II.²⁰ at Mount Barkal or Napata, show that the South had never successfully thrown off the yoke of her Egyptian rulers. Egypt was consequently reaching the zenith of her power about the reign of Thothmes III.

How the monarch had been employed previously to his twenty-ninth year, there is no hint from any other extant document except the tablet, at the Wadi Magara, of his sixteenth year, when he still appears in the tutelage of the queen sister regent. Another tablet, copied by Mr. Bonomi, at the Sarsbout el Khadem, is dated in the twenty-ninth regnal year of Thothmes, which is a presumptive proof that the regency of the queen had terminated in the interval. But there is ample space for the five expeditions between this and the twenty-ninth regnal year.

i. The line of larger hieroglyphics contains the name of the king [*the living Horus, the powerful bull*] crowned in *Nem* or *Nuer*, [*king of the upper and of the lower country, the ruling(?) lord*], *the Sun establishing existence, the son of the Sun, Thothmes . . .* It is to be remarked here that the titles commencing the inscription are those of Thothmes III., proving that his sister had been either got rid of, or reduced to an inferior rank.

ii. The smaller line, which is the title of the whole. *His majesty ordered that the victories which were given by his father [Amen-ra] should be placed on the stone wall of the temple, made by his majesty, of red granite [a long erasure] in [her or] its name, together*

²⁰ Found by Lord Pringle in these places. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, Ser. i. p. 59, 1st edn.

with the captive led by his majesty in it, making it elegant like The first erasure was probably that of Amen-ra, to whom the granite sanctuary was dedicated, and may have been defaced in some of the subsequent reigns. It will be observed that he calls the wall simply stone, and it was of a sandstone: the temple made of Syenitic granite is the celebrated granite sanctuary. The erasure which follows this is of a more ambiguous character: it is followed by "its name," which may refer to the temple, or "in her name," which would allude to the queen regent; nor can we determine which, except from the subsequent phrase "led in it," and this, being also in the feminine, points to the same sense of temple, and seems to show that the defacement was that of some mention of the god Amen-ra,¹⁰ probably part of the extensive violence of the Sun worshippers. The inscription then commences, line 1 :

"In the twenty-ninth year, then his majesty [was in the land of the Tichu], about to molest all the abominable lands in it in the fifth expedition with his force: then the fortress of the Ua-wa was captured by his majesty powers to . . . his going—those who were the good, surrounding his majesty, did all as appointed(?), and his majesty went to the treasury of offering, and received the pure and good things of . . . with bulls, and steers, and waterfowl [brought by] the descendants of the vanquished of that land, 1 chief of the fort, 329 men, 100 ingots of silver, 100 ingots of gold, tin(?), copper, and cones of brass(?) and of iron :

¹⁰ See Dr. Hincks on the Defacement of Divine and Royal Names, Trans. Roy. Ir. Acad. 4to, Dub. 1846, vol. xxi. Part 1.: with respect however to mere erasures, without substitutions, they may have occurred at any time.

then was the loading of the ships all other good things, as his majesty went on his return towards Egypt in triumph: after that, his majesty sacked the fort of the *Aruts* of its corn, and made all its arms: after that his majesty went to the land of the *Tahsi*—in triumph their fax wine in their waters, likewise their corn of navigating the water, their infinite for bread of offering, the archers in their halting (?) with other things the guardians led by his majesty from the land of the incense and palm wine [*balansa*], 490 measures of honey, 6428 measures of wine, iron, lead, tin, and antimony (?), 518 bulls, 3636 goats, bread, and corn, and flour, all the good things of that land every son [et *P*] as it is in the panegyrics of the land of Egypt."

The task of explaining all the philological reasons on which the translation of each individual word is based, would be so great, and would lead to such a long disquisition, that, with the exception of some particular phrases, I must abandon it for what is more important, the historical portion. The most obvious divisions of the events are these, twenty-ninth year, fifth campaign: although all the hieroglyphics of the land in which the king was then are wanting, except the 1 vertical line, yet I deem this enough to enable us to restore the reading $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{𓂏} & \text{𓂏} & \text{𓂏} \\ \text{𓂏} & \text{𓂏} & \text{𓂏} \end{smallmatrix}$ —as $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{𓂏} \\ \text{𓂏} \end{smallmatrix}$ is most probably for $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{𓂏} \\ \text{𓂏} \end{smallmatrix}$, the $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{𓂏} & \text{𓂏} \\ \text{𓂏} & \text{𓂏} \end{smallmatrix}$ —the rest of the hieroglyphic having been broken off. His majesty, as will be seen from inspecting the translation, certainly went there in that year, and descended from it towards Egypt. Hence $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{𓂏} & \text{𓂏} & \text{𓂏} & \text{𓂏} & \text{𓂏} & \text{𓂏} & \text{𓂏} & \text{𓂏} & \text{𓂏} & \text{𓂏} \\ \text{𓂏} & \text{𓂏} & \text{𓂏} & \text{𓂏} & \text{𓂏} & \text{𓂏} & \text{𓂏} & \text{𓂏} & \text{𓂏} & \text{𓂏} \end{smallmatrix}$ fills up the space, and is a good restoration. The name *Tahsi*, of two known nations, resembles that of the *Daher*, located

at the foot of the Caspian, and the Taschi, situated just outside the high mountain ranges of Armenia.

Some light upon their position is afforded from a consideration of the principal texts in which they are mentioned. Ramses II., in his fifth year, had commenced his great campaign against the Khita, which is entitled his second expedition. He was in the land of the Tahsi,²⁶ and was at the foot of the Shashuten, on the south bank (?) of the Ati or Atet, when he heard from the Shasu (Arabs) [Scythi of Dr. Hincks, Shepherds of Rosellini and Mr. Osburn] that the Khita [the Chaldees] were seated in the land of the Chiruba²⁷ [Helbon], which closely resembles the name of the Chalybonitis, Helbon, or the modern Aleppo. Now the grand confederation of the central Asiatic people in the reign of Ramses II.²⁸ consisted of the Khita, the Masu (a people of the Masii mounds), the Tera, the Kesh-kesh (Carcassus?), the An-hena (Iran), the Karukamasha (Carchemish), the Chiruba (Chalybes), the Akatar, the Ate[sh], and the Baka (Bage), and the Aruta (Ararat). The text here is "*the scattered chief of the Khita, and the numerous lands that are with him, the Aruta, the Masu, the Shasu, the Kesh-kesh, the Arhena, the Katusa, with the Chiruba, the Ati, and the Baka.*"

²⁶ The Tahsi are mentioned in addresses to Egypt (Papyrus Anastasi, 5. p. 1. Select Papyri, Pl. xxvi.); and in the grand campaign at Medinet Habou against the Philistines, by Ramses IV., the Tahsi are the people to whom the king had advanced. Champollion, Mon. tom. ii. Pl. cxxix.

²⁷ A name resembling this is written Khirba [Chabank] under Ramses III. at Medinet Helbon. Champollion, Mon. tom. iii. Pl. cxxv.

²⁸ Select Papyri, Pl. xxix. xlv.; MS. Beller, p. 3, line 10 and last, first given by Selwadia, Campagne de Ramses le Grand, Plac. n. Ag. 1, et seq.

In a subsequent account of the confederation, the number of cavalry furnished by each country is given, viz., "the chief" of the Arata, 90 of the land of the Mzans; the chief of the Ardens, 90 of the land of Raka; the chief of the Tintasi, 90 of the land of the Kesh-kesh; the chief of the Karukemasha, 90 of the land of the Chirabu; and the . . . 90 of the Klita . . . altogether is the first case 3500 arms of cavalry complete." Now a chief is mentioned to each two lands; and it is evident that the territorial subdivisions are these:

Amata. [Amant?] eschewer of the Moon. [Maid, Month].²⁹

Auribacus [Aureus] " *Fiducia* [Fiducius Aureus]

| | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|------------------------|
| Top-down [Theory] | " | " | Bottom-up [Experience] |
| Top-down [Theory] | " | " | Bottom-up [Experience] |

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>Karyocryptus</i> [Carcharias] ²⁰ | <i>Chelodactylus</i> [Chelodactylus] ²⁰ |
|--|--|

The name of the minor country, Vava, which was attacked by the king, is mentioned on two other occasions; it occurs in Papyrus, Sallier, No. 2,⁸⁰ in the praises made to or by the monarch Amenemha I., *ⲙⲁⲛⲉⲙⲥⲏ ⲓⲩⲣⲟⲩ ⲧⲁⲃⲧⲱⲩⲭⲟⲩ* 'I conquered the Vavsi, I led the Morai.' In the thirty-seventh line of the statistical tablet, their name is found close to the part mentioning the tributes of Kesh or Ethiopia, and they bring gold ingots, one of the products of the black tribes: their name means the distant, and is peculiar for the repetition of sound which distinguishes the names of the black people in the Egyptian inscriptions.

²⁰ Robert Payroll, *FR. 2000*, 3 *Colloq.*, line 5, at 409.

²² Flacius, *Report of Syno-Egyptina Society*, 1846, April, loc. cit.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* But I think it very doubtful whether the people of Ethiopia are not here intended.

²⁰ Hirsch, *Trans. Roy. Irish Acad.* 1847, n. 46.

- **Refined Peppercorn** 2 1/2 TBL. olive oil

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Pl. xi, page 2, last line. Cf. the *Te-ss-an*. *Recd. M. E. cur.*, at Medford History. Wilkeson, M. H. *Songs to Pl. viii*.

Let us turn to the next expedition, and the events of the thirtieth year, commencing in line 6—9.

"In the thirtieth year, then his majesty was in the land of the *Ruten-nu*, in his sixth expedition, with his powers,—his majesty approached then to the fortress of the land of *Atet* or *Atahu*, and cut up his bulwarks . . . going in the land of the *tu*, he approached the fort of brought by the spirits of his majesty from the chiefs of the *Ruten* in that year: then there was a bringing of those born of the chiefs, and their brethren, to be in his power in *Kau* [Egypt]: then were all the appointed hostages by the gift of his majesty ordered (?) to be placed in his palace with the other chief-born, led from 30 chariots decorated with gold, silver, and paintings."

This evidently closes the events of the thirtieth year, although not consequently those of the sixth expedition. The king was then in the *Ruten*, a nation apparently more north than the *Tahai*. There has been hitherto considerable difficulty in discovering who these people were; and they have been conjectured to be the Lydians—*Lodim*—in the sense of central Asia, *Ratheni* and *Arvadites*. The principal monumental evidence to guide us in determining these people is the following:

1. In the tomb at Thebes, in which the events detailed on this tablet are pictorially represented, they are styled thus—'the *Ruten*—northern lands behind the great sea.'¹⁰

11. In the campaign of his first year, *Sethos I.*¹¹ has not only driven out the *Shasu*, who were at *Tar*, on the frontiers of Egypt, but had marched to the *Ruten*,


¹⁰ Harkness's *Aethiops*: Tomb at Thebes.

¹¹ Rosellini, *M. E.* 111.

defeated them, and returned with the royal servants who had accompanied him there.

III. In the grand ethnographical table of prisoners, they are divided into the *Upper* and *Lower*¹⁰ *Ruten-ns*, and the nations of the North are placed in the following geographical order: the lands of the North, three unknown nations, apparently generic names; then follow the

- a. *Khita*.
- b. *Nuhastina* [*Mesopotamia*].
- c. *Upper Ruten*.
- d. *Lower Ruten*.
- e. *Sacukara* [*Singara*].

IV. The physical characters of these people are as follows: they are of a light (pink) colour, with brown or red hair, and blue eyes; their tribute is horses, chariots, rare woods, ivory, gloves, a bear (*ursus hiustus*) of Syria, gold and silver vases with the head of the god *Beal*,  porcelain jars, pitch, woods, and frankincense; their tight dresses, apparently of wool, open with a buckle, in the manner of the goddess *Astarte*, and they carry long gloves.

V. They are the people conquered by *Esar-haddon*, as represented at *Khorsabad*, and supposed, with great probability, to be the people of *Ashdod* or *Azotus*.

Now, comparing these facts with the hypotheses advanced by the principal writers on the subject of the ethnography of the Egyptians, they cannot be the *Lydians*, as conjectured by *Champollion*; for all we know of *Lydia* is as a small state on the western coast of Asia, whose power in its zenith, under *Cresus*, in the seventh century, only reached to the *Halys*. The com-

¹⁰ Rosellini, *M. R.* vol. v.

parison of them with the Ludim, by Rosellini, is equally unsatisfactory, for it is necessary to begin by determining who the Ludim are. The Biblical commentators make them the Lydians, descended from Shem; but there is a second Lud in the tenth chapter of Genesis,²⁶ a descendant of the Mizraim; and their juxtaposition with other nations does not guide us in the question; for we have Cush, Phut, and Lud, in Ezekiel xxx. 5, and Jeremiah xlv. 9; and Persia, Lud, and Phut, in Ezekiel xxvii. 10. It is of course necessary to refer them to a central Asiatic people, but to call them Ludim is either an indefinite expression or else a mere repetition of the hypothesis of Champollion. The supposition of Sir Gardner Wilkinson, that they might possibly be the inhabitants of Khaki, in Arabia Petrea, would neither be consonant with their known geographical position nor with their products and attire. Sir Gardner, who however places them more north than Syria, admits the great difficulty of determining who are intended. A learned physiologist of America, Dr. Morton,²⁷ conjectures that they are Hindoos, founding his opinion on the physiognomy, the Asiatic elephants, and the bears, which he supposes to be the *urus tibetanus* of India; but he fluctuates between an Indo-Semitic or Indo-Persian people. There is indeed a people of India called the Rotans,²⁸ but it is unsafe from mere analogy to identify the two names. The theory of Mr. Hoskins, that they are white slaves sent as tribute from Meroë, is so utterly untenable as to deserve no serious criticism. The last theory, that of Mr. Osburn,²⁹ that they are the people of Arad-us, the Arvad-im of the


²⁶ Genesis, x. 12.

²⁷ *Crania Egyptiaca*, 4to, Philadelphia, 1844, p. 40.

²⁸ *Steph. Lex. voc.*

²⁹ *Troismonop.* p. 52.

Scriptures,⁴⁰ founded on the resemblance of Ruten and a *Ruedin*, or rather a *Ruedin*, as the Phœnician plural, is deserving of considerable attention. In the attack made by Sathas on the Ermen-ni, or Hermon, who cut down the wood of their forests for tribute or offering, the prince who stands before the king, Sathas I., tells him that the chiefs of the Ruten-nu are before him. Now the term upper and lower Ruten suggests that the nation occupied some territory divided in a marked manner by some physical boundary, such as a mountain range—a condition which the Hermon would perfectly answer. But this is far removed from Aradus, which must be regarded as the capital of the Arradites, and there is no indication in the text⁴¹ that they were a maritime people. Considering their colour, their designation, and their peculiar tributes, and the fact of the Cappadocians being recorded amongst the tributary of the great Rhamases, I am tempted to believe that the Cappadocians or Leuco-Syri, fair Syrians, are intended, who lay above and below the Taurus, and who occupied the lesser Armenia, the Armenia of the Inscription at Behistun, and the Hermini of the Chaldees. The man who brings the elephant is evidently of a different race, and this animal was probably brought from the plains of Mesopotamia, where in primeval times it existed.—Are they the Scriptural Rezen?

In the same year, the king had approached the fortress  Atesh, or as it is otherwise written

⁴⁰ .

⁴¹ Mr. Osburn, *loc. cit.*, mentions a sentence: "in the ships of the wicked men of the Ruten, we (i. e. the gods) brought his majesty to his conquests over the land of the Cheta" (Shachlita, Osburn), but I cannot find it; nor could ships from Aradus sail into the Niledelta.

about them as thou goest to the land of Tachia, Kapru-machana (?) [Caper-malcan], Tamsak [Dimasak] Ati, Tapara, Atai Haru-nema; you look at Karta-anbu [Kareth-anov], Beta-Tubar ? [Beth-Dabir]; you know Aturama, Tipata in the same manner. I tell you the name of Chamarata [Chimmeroth Gennesereth], which is the land of Asak, the bull of the frontier is its place."⁴⁰ The writer also mentions Beta Ska[an] [Bethshan Scythopolis], Tarsaka-aru, and the passage of the Iartana [Jordan]; and the only doubt, after reading these passages, is, whether Ati or Atet was not a name used in Syria to signify city, and whether two cities may not be intended. It was, at all events, to the north of Palestine, and cannot be placed among the Amorites in the south. From Ati or Atet came a drink or drug to Egypt in the way of commerce, as the writer of a subsequent papyrus mentions a *manibeta* [phial?] filled with the drugs of the Atet;⁴¹—the drugs of the Atet, and wines of Charu or Syria, and a kind of cloth embroidery for sails from the same place.

vii. The gods of the Khita are Sost or Sutek [Sadak, Set-an], Baal, and Astarta [Ashtareth]: many of the proper names end in *suru*—a common Assyrian termination.

viii. The fort Atesk lay on a circular island, in the centre of a large river, with a double wet ditch, flanked by two bridges;⁴² and the picture in which it appears corresponds to the revolt of the Bactrians, described by Diodorus.⁴³

ix. In the great ethnographical tablet of Karnak, of

⁴⁰ Cf. Dr. Hacks, *loc. cit.* Select Papyri, Pl. xvi. lines 1, 2, and 44.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* Pl. xxiii. line 11, and xxv. line 1.

⁴² Rosellini, *M. E.* xxi.; Wilkinson, *M. and G. Ser.* i. vol. i. p. 381.

⁴³ *Lib.* i. 47.

the conquests of Sethos I., the division apparently descending from the north towards Egypt is

Khita [Chaldees, Cuthians],
 Naharina [Mesopotamia],
 Rutu, U. and L. [Cappadocia],
 Saenkaru [Sinjar].

In the prisoners of Amenophis III.¹¹ at Soleb, the procession is

Naharina [Mesopotamia],
 Saenkaru [Sinjar],
 Abet.


Connecting these circumstances together, it would appear that Abet was a great city lying on a river, either the Euphrates or Tigris, belonging to a tract of country attached to the Tigris, garrisoned by a Chaldean people, and not far from the Chaboras or Chalybonitis, and probably in the Omira. I would prefer Haditha, on the east bank of the Euphrates, to Haddasa, (as proposed by Mr. Osburn,) the chief city of the Amorites, or Edessa, the Ur of the Chaldees, (suggested by Dr. Hincks,) which is not upon any river.¹² The reason that the Greeks conjectured this to be the attack on the Bactrians was probably owing to the similarity of sound between the Khita and Cathai, Amaru and the Amoor or Iaxartes, Tukar and the Tochari.

I will now pass on to an event which is recorded in the next year, although without any similar notice of an expedition, lines 9, 10.

On the 3rd of Prakhos of the 31st year, crowds of the captives were led to his majesty; in that year the captives brought from the fort of Pet-ratu,

¹¹ Cf. Wilkinson, M. H. Pl. viii. and Suppl. to Pl. viii.

¹² Report of Syro-Egyptian Society, &c., 1847, p. 6.

 which is on the rock of the lake Merne, of living prisoners 490, commanded with the fallen of with the and their legs of wood by the inch, the ell, and the cune, placed by the captives of his majesty, like the bill of the hours all his other things. The country of captives led by the chiefs of the Ruten, coming to supply the land of his majesty: in that year his majesty


I regard the first part as indicating the assemblage, the crowd: a similar location occurs on the outer south wall at Karnak,²² where, on the prisoners, is written, *the crowds of chiefs of the Kûtes led by his majesty to the abode of Anen*. In the absence of positive hieroglyphical information enabling us to find the place, the city of *Pet-rata*, we must refer it conjecturally. This place indeed appears among the conquests of Ramesses III. (Miamun), at Medinet Haboo,²³—for so

the shield
and we
names
ruten, and
called
and Tirna



should probably be restored as have it in a succession of reading *Te-ata*, *Ro-ri*, *Pet-rata*, a series of Assyriacs *Kerna*, *A-tar* (?), *Turbana*, —where we may conjecture




the Mesopotamian *Charran*, and *Thalmeh*:²⁴ but a slight insight is afforded by the text itself here: the fortress is stated to be on the rock of Merne,  following the reading of M. Lepsius. Yet, restoring

²² Beaudouin, *M. B. tom. II. Pl. 28*, p. 286-7.

²³ Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, tome III. Pl. carr.

²⁴ The other prisoners, *Ac, ell*, are chiefly northern Syrians: we have *Hirna* or *Hirynthia*, i. e. *Harna*; *Reharat*, i. e. *Lebanath* or *Lekana*; *Atara*, i. e. *Atara*; *Chakura*, either the *Chakura* or a transcription for *Chakka*, *Laen* . . . *Rutan* (?), and like, *Hera*.

the first part as —we have *Nehar-an*, or *Mesopotamia*; and then *Pet-ruta*, from its elements, suggests *Pethor*,⁴⁰ one of the oldest cities of *Mesopotamia*. From the expression after the word, which is preceded by a word with the meaning of which I am unacquainted, it would appear that either some immense quantity had been brought, or a large edifice had been constructed.⁴¹ *Meru* may be either the *Dead Sea* or the *Lake Merom*.

The events referrible to the eighth expedition are continued in the 10th and 11th lines,—with blocks (?) of their wood by the inch, ell, and cane, cows of 104 in number, and 172 steers of bulls, total 276, 4632 wild goats, 40 bricks of iron in ore, and bricks of lead, together with all the good woods of that land.

No light is afforded, throughout the tablet, respecting the country to which this tribute can be referred, neither do we know whence the Egyptians procured their iron, which is, however, widely diffused in *Palestine* and *Syria* and among the *Chalybes*: the quantity is small, and this metal, as well as lead, seems to have been imported into *Egypt* in the form of rectangular ingots or 'bricks.'

The text continues, line 11—

then every land arrived as his majesty approached them, to supply him with bread and corn, jars of palm-wine, [balsams?] incense, wine, honey, and The mutilated condition of the remainder prevents our knowing what country was intended as the one "overflowing with milk and honey:" the meaning of the

⁴⁰ Num. xiii. 2; Deut. xiii. 6; The LXX. *see, &c.*

⁴¹ The expression, like "the rock of the heart," or solar hill, often occurs as an honorary epithet applied to the king.

two subsequent lines is also very obscure,—it is this, line 13—

they are placed on the first tablet of the palace, and the account of them is given on that tablet; they are figured, multiplying many words, whilst bearing their tribute in the place(?) making their

The following line (14) has evidently formed part of the recital of another year—

. . . bushels of corn, wheat, frankincense, green conserves, wine, flour, and all other products of that land; and they will be bound in the treasury as the chief of the works of the The text continues after a long hiatus—line 15,

income for burning, with all the other good things of that land—when his majesty approached Mera or Mer-tar [Egypt], then came the guides of the [P'hen-t] with their tribute of pearls(?) and jasper.¹⁰

Although there is no indication of a name in the text, yet in the tomb published by Hoskins these two last materials come from the land of Pua-t or P'ben-t, apparently Libya, a country, as we shall subsequently see, supplying Egypt with granite and blocks of stone from its quarries (line 27). As early, indeed, as the twelfth dynasty, P'hen-t had been in the power of Egypt. An hiatus occurs between this and the next line, and we evidently pass into another expedition, or tribute, also from a country producing cattle,—probably from the southern frontiers of Egypt, from Peti, or Kash, from whence, as we see in the tomb of Hoskins and at Beit el Wehly, the Egyptians received this kind of tribute; for we have, line 16,

113 sterna, 230 broad huffs, total 343, coming in the

¹⁰ The word here, *Am-Kan*, resembles the Coptic AMANKAN—*Ppyr*—Lex. i. c. 8, *salomonian, utrichian*.

*transports laden with ivory and ebony, the fine wood*²⁰ *of Nubianian goats, and [all the other good and] true [things of that land].*

From hence we have again passed, in the commencement of line 17, to the closing part of the formula of another tribute.

. coming in the transports laden with all the good things of that land, measured by the Vava in the same manner.

The tribute was brought from a Cushite province; and there is reason for believing the Vava to have been a southern people. This closed the 32nd year, and we pass on to the opening of a new regnal year.

The 33rd year, then his majesty was in the land of the Rasta-nu (in his 8th expedition). The whole of the events of this year are lost, and nothing remains of what then occurred, except the end of the section, which commences the following line (18). The king of the upper and lower country, the Sun, greatest of offered beings,—the prenomen of Thothmes I.; yet it is impossible to say what relation this stands in with the preceding line. "The king, Thothmes I.," may have built some fort, or consolidated some conquest continued by his successor. In the subsequent expedition the king had reached the Euphrates: line 18,—*then his majesty sailed on landing captives the forts, and ploughing the furrows of the fallen of the wretched Nekersine.*

The connection of this with the subsequent line is interrupted by a long hiatus; but as the events of this part of Asia continue to be mentioned, it is probable

²⁰ It is interesting to compare this with the Negative Confession in the Ritual, *Text. Taf. xxviii. n. 125, line 34.* "*I have not stolen holy goats.*"

that the wanting portion referred to the same part of the world. The identity of *Naharsina*²² with the Biblical *Neharajim* and the Syriac *Nahrin* is admitted by all inquirers, and it is probable that in subsequent reigns the old limit was merely maintained; for certainly at this period Thothmes III. had marked out this country, probably the right bank of the Euphrates, as the limits of the empire of Egypt.

The meaning of the subsequent line (19) is very obscure: . . . as it . . . guided in it with rising up like the . . . of *gasts*—then the *keress* contending (?) . . .

This isolated passage appears to refer to a military expedition. In the next line (20) we pass to the record of part of a tribute,—30 [*chigs*] with their women, 80 prisoners of war, pure men and pure women (slaves) 606, with their children, . . . surrendered men and women.


These people are probably from Syria: in the great tomb of Hoskins, the king, Thothmes, receives conscripts from all parts for his army. The foreigners acquired are always divided into three classes: first, the *kyfs*, the captured, a term applied to the chasing of animals; and although the past participial form is not given, yet there can be little doubt from the context, that chased or captured persons or prisoners of war are intended. The second class, *hewter*, is holy men and women: it is the same character which, in combination with a god, has been translated “priest;” and when placed absolutely, expresses the sanctity or person of a monarch. It may be conjectured that they are a class held sacred by the Egyptians. Both *Rameses I.* and *II.* boast that they have filled the ra

²² Champollion, *Gr. Eg.* p. 126. *Black, Gallery*, ii. p. 60. *Osburn, Testimony*, p. 75. Dr. Black, *The Letters of the Ancient Alphabet*, No. 146, p. 45, 27772.

or mansion, the place where the offerings were deposited, with pure prisoners;⁴¹ and Rameses III. tells us, exactly as Herodotus had heard, that he built the Temple of Aheosimbel by his prisoners.⁴² It is probable that these persons of the sacred cast were employed as hierodules in the inferior offices of the temples; and as there is every appearance of the introduction of the worship of Central Asia at this period, in the forms of Bar or Beal, Astarte or Ashtarothe, Ken or Koun, Anta or Anaitis, and Rempu or Remphe, there is no reason why the ministers of these foreign religions may not have been led into captivity with other classes of society. The third class are the *kept*, the offered persons, neither prisoners of war nor priests, but conscripts or hostages: in the present instance their number is not specified.

The next line (24) is one of the most important in the whole tablet,—

. . . Nemiia, in stopping—when his majesty came he set up his tablet in Naharina, to enlarge, or, on account of having enlarged the confines of Kam [Egypt.]

The word  Nemi-i-ia has been recognized as the celebrated Nineveh on the Tigris by Champollion,⁴³ the *Niniv* of the Septuagint. The identification of this name is not perfectly satisfactory, for as it commences the line, it is possible that it may be the termination of the name of some fort or place. As it stands, it perfectly coincides with this city, while the return of the king southwards, towards Naharina, quite concurs with its position. The mention of tablets here is important, as it shows what was their actual em-

⁴¹ Rosellini, M. B. 1287, 1.

⁴² Lib. ii. 108; Euseb. i. 56. Bortol. Ex. Hist. 120.

⁴³ Gr. Eg. p. 150.

ployment. They were the landmarks of the empire; which satisfactorily accounts for the appearance of those of the monarch Khufu and others at the Wadi Magara and the Sarnbut el Khadem, that of Urt-son I. formerly at the Wadi Halfa, and now in the museum of the Sta. Caterina at Florence, and that of Ramesses II. in the pass of the Nahr el Kelh,⁴⁴ or ancient Lycus. That at Nymphi is certainly an Assyrian or native work, and cannot be referred to Egypt, whose conquests cannot be traced so far west.⁴⁵ In the celebrated tomb of Nehar, son of Nura-hept, at Beni-Hassan, that officer states how far he had erected tablets for the king in a northern and southerly direction, but the names of the cities are unfortunately not identified.⁴⁶ In the tablets of Tounah,⁴⁷ the officer under whose direction fresh works had been carried on there, in the reign of Amenophis II., states, that "*he had set up tablets for his majesty as far northwards as Naharsina [Mesopotamia], and southwards, as Karu [Kala].*" Since Amenophis II. was the son and successor of Thothmes III., this officer was, in all probability, the very one under whom the tablet mentioned in our text was erected. On the scarabæi⁴⁸ which record the marriage of Amenophis III. and his wife Taisa, the limits of the empire are placed at Naharsina and the Karu,

⁴⁴ I am sorry to differ with an inquirer as able as Major Rawlinson, who is reported to have founded an argument for the progress of civilisation towards Assyria upon this Assyrian tablet at the Nahr el Kelh. Cf. *Athanasian*, No. 1025, p. 647; but this tablet either marked the passage of the Lycus or the limit of the Assyrian empire when it was erected.

⁴⁵ *Archæologische Zeitung*, 1848, Vol. xii. s. 32-48; 1846, No. 61.

⁴⁶ *Barton, Ess. Hier.* Pl. xxxiii.

⁴⁷ *Tyre, Journal*, vol. ii.—Tounah Quarter, Pl. ii.

⁴⁸ *Rawlinson, M. R.* sup. 1.

Kalna, or Gollas, if this be the ancient name; and under Thothes IV., as we have already seen, the chiefs of Mesopotamia humbly bring presents of gold to the monarch.⁶⁹ That Egypt held at this period Ethiopia and Mesopotamia, as her tributaries, is evident; but it would appear that these conquests had to be renewed by Sethos I.; for they were lost in the interval, according to some, through the introduction of a novel and fanatical heresy of pure Sabæanism, but not impossibly through the reflux of conquest and the vicissitudes of war. Sethos I. again boasted "that his seats extended to Nubaria, his victories to the tips [ends] of the world."⁷⁰ After this period, the conquests of the north-east still continued to engage the attention of the Pharaohs; but the Khita, placed northwards of Mesopotamia itself, chiefly engaged their attention till the accession of the next dynasty, when the rise of the Philistines to power had swept away the Syrian and Mesopotamian conquests of Egypt, and when the possession of the coast line was an object of ambition to the Pharaohs. During the 19th dynasty, Tyre and Sidon, Berytus, Aradus, Sarepta, and the Jordan, are mentioned; and under Ramesses II. the empire had probably stretched as far as Beyrout, where it was met by the Assyrian boundary; but afterwards, till Necho marched upon Carchemish, our knowledge of the political limit of Egypt is restricted to a few circumstances: an alliance with the 23rd dynasty is apparently indicated by the name of Nimrod or Nimrod, and Shaput or Shaped.⁷¹ At a later period there is no mention of Mesopotamia.

From hence we pass again, after a considerable

⁶⁹ Champollion, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, tom. 5. Plac. cur.

⁷⁰ Rosellini, *M. R.* ix.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 159.

hates, to the middle portion of another tribute,
line 32,—

. . . [513] pure men and women, 260 brood mares, 85
ingots, and 9 purses' weight of gold, silver, and gold
ware of the fabric of the Takai.

The word here for horses is *ses-em*, recognized as the Semitic *šm*, the name of a horse or mare. In the hieroglyphics, it is always employed to point out the brood mares of which the royal stud was composed; the war-horse or charger being called *h-tar*, or *horse*. Mr. Pickering, an American naturalist, has remarked, that as yet no horse has been found till the 18th dynasty; and the earliest appearance of any is on the tessera on which Amenophis I.⁷² is seen attacking the northern people. The post of chief groom, or master of the brood mares, was then and subsequently filled by princes of the blood royal, and the same in use for these animals among the Egyptians was probably derived from the people from whom they had received them.

At the period of the 18th dynasty, the horse was extensively used throughout Central Asia for purposes of war, but only in chariots; and the exceptional instances of horsemen prove that it was not esteemed for cavalry. The Scythians, in the earliest times, and subsequently the Assyrians and Persians, were the great horse-riders, and probably owed much of their success in war to the dexterous employment of a force both novel and terrible to nations unacquainted with the means of resisting it.

The gold from this part of the world was not brought in the huge link chains in which it was transported from Kush or Ethiopia, but fused into long rectangular

⁷² *Black Gallery, E. R. 303.* *Forch. M. S. t. 15 Pl. 1. Text. col. 2.*

stones called 'ingots.' These were probably adjusted to a given weight, and it was the ordinary manner in which the precious metals found their way from the North into Egypt; yet there is even a trace of ring ingots, as will be subsequently seen, from the same places. The silver vases, the work of the Tahai, are a remarkable tribute, as they show an excellence in working metals among these people; indeed, the arts of torrefactive work in Asia influenced so largely even the Greek world at a later period, as to rival, and gradually supersede, the fictile painted vases of the Greeks, which represented the fine porcelain of modern civilization.

It will be remembered, that in many of the temple scenes the monarchs are represented offering vases of gold and silver, with handles and feet and covers in the shape of animals, such as the bull, and the gazelle, kneeling Asiatics, the heads of lions, goats, and even of the god Beal. These were deposited in the treasury of the temple, an example followed by Joshua, who dedicated the spoils of Jericho, which consisted in gold and silver, and vessels of iron and brass.²⁰ It is very improbable that one people should have presented the products of another, and we are consequently justified in supposing that the whole tribute came from the Tahai or Dahai.

In the next line (23) we have passed into another of the cattle tributes,—28 calves, 564 bulls, 5323 goats, 828 jars of frankincense, and measures of conserve of dates (or balsams).

All these probably came from Euten-ru, or, if not, from Arshin, whence the Arsal, near Yemen, sent

²⁰ Joshua vi. 24.

similar materials to Egypt.²⁴ Nubians also supplied these conserves or balsams,²⁵ while horses (š-fer) and a species of goat or cattle came from Singara.²⁶ The text, unfortunately, continues in a state still more imperfect and obscure: Line 24 is—

. . . those of the lands which arrived supplied all other things—likewise horses, as it were their arm (i. e. branch) of the yearly tribute, together with works of the Remenen, as it were their branch of the yearly tribute, together with the elders or chiefs of the Remenen

I cannot guarantee the entire translation of this line, which I am aware presents considerable difficulties. The question here is with respect to the Remenen, who have been supposed to be the Lemenen or Libanus, by Rosellini,²⁷ Sir Gardner Wilkinson,²⁸ and Dr. Hincks;²⁹ but the name of the nation in the conquests of Ramesses III. at Medinet Haboo,³⁰ there written Lehanut, agrees more satisfactorily, not only with the Hebrew form, but also with the circumstance of the great campaigns of this monarch having been carried on in Palestine. Mr. Osburn has well corrected this reading to that of Hermon³¹ in the campaigns of Sethos I., and supposed the people to be the Hermonites; but even this involves the prefix of an additional syllable. I had previously suggested Armenia,³² supposing this to have been an



²⁴ Hincks, *Trans. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* p. 262; 'An Attempt,' *ibid.* p. 45, No. 2, 1847; *Select Papyri*, Pl. xxvii. line 7.

²⁵ *Select Papyri*, Plate xxvi. 2, 4.

²⁶ *Ibid.* xxviii. 2, 5, 2.

²⁷ *M. St. Den.* xxvi.

²⁸ *Monuments and Customs*, Ser. i. vol. i. pp. 365, 357.

²⁹ *Trans. Roy. Irish Acad.* 1847.

³⁰ *Champollion, Mon. tom. St. Plate cxxv.*

³¹ *Tadmor*, p. 53.

³² *Hinck, Gallery.*

old name of the country; and it occurs as *Arminas*²⁵ in the Persian cuneiform, and *Harminai* in the Chaldee.²⁶ The single scene in which these people are represented at Karnak has been successively published by Rosellini,²⁷ Sir Gardner Wilkinson,²⁸ and Mr. Osburn.²⁹ The first and last of these inquirers have given a translation of the accompanying text; but as it aids much in deciding the question, it will be as well to give it again. On the external wall of Karnak these scenes are thus arranged by Rosellini: *Ruten*—*Remenen*—[*Mah*]-*ansaim*—*Shasn* in Pelusium, in his 1st year.

The order is here evidently inverted: the *Ruten* are the most north; the *Shasn* or *Arsha* in Pelusium the most south.

The king, *Sethos I.*, has alighted from his chariot, and looks behind towards four *Remenen* who cut down trees, whilst two others supplicate at his feet. The entire upper half of the inscription is gone, and what remains is as follows:—

(1) *Remenen* *hes* (2) *great boat on the river* (3) *there, as was done by the*
(4) *great brethren of Amun* (5) *ruling it*
(6) *with life and power* (7) [*Hoe*] *the Sun always* (8) *lord of the upper and lower country, the strength of the horn* (9) *Victorious over the low lands* (10) *Seti, beloved of Ptah, living*
(11) *offered in his great victory, (12) powerful in his strength, (13) his* (14) (15)
day (16) . . . *he sees them*
(17) *who is kind in his deeds (18) in the seats of Egypt,*

²⁵ Rosellini, *Journal of R. As. Society*, vol. x. Part ii. p. 124.

²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 146.

²⁷ *M. R. T.* 2251.

²⁸ *Monuments and Customs*, Ser. i. Pl. 1. 357.

²⁹ *Testimony*, p. 50.

³⁰ Rosellini, *M. R. T.* 2251.

(19) *guarding to fill the treasury* (20) [with] the horns

The speech of the chiefs in this picture is as follows:

(1) *The great chiefs of the Remen* (2) *say in glorifying the lord of the world,* (3) *in magnifying his greatness,* (4) *thou appearest like thy father* (5) *Ra; thou hast lived with thy fame.*

Then follows the speech of the standard-bearer:

(1) *The speech of the standard-bearer on the left,* (2) *. . . beloved of the good god, made like* (3) *the Horus who has given life to the upper and lower world,* (4) *a lord like Mentu over all lands; (5) behold the chiefs of the Ruten; thou hast struck terror in their hearts,* (6) *thou art called a lord.*

It is clear from this passage that the Ruten are probably not so near Egypt as has been conjectured; that they are connected with the Remen, of whose tributes, however, we find scarcely a further notice in this tablet.

The hiatus which separates this from the next line does not indeed admit of our supplying the wanting texts. Mr. Osburn has ingeniously conjectured that in the conquests of Sethos I., already described, they are felling wood for the purposes of ship-building on the river; but the text is too mutilated to render this certain, and no river of primary importance descends from the Hermon.

The next line, No. 25, is one of the most important in the whole tablet:

. . . of that land; then was a collection of all the things: those brought by the chief of Saenkar were [24] *ingats' weight of glass, or tin (?) 24 manufactured and [24?] ingats' weight of blue colour (?) glass, or tin (?) of Bebel.*

The identity of Saenkar with Singara, *i. e.* in the sense of the plains of Shinar, first proposed by Rosellini,

appears from its geographical position in the ethnographical tablet to be proved. Mr. Osburn suggests the Lower Sinim, but the Upper being never mentioned, renders it doubtful. The commencement of the name of Babel only exists in the Chevalier Leprieux's copy, but that of Sir Gardner Wilkinson, made before the removal of the tablet, gives the whole. The difficulty here is to know whether a metal or material, such as tin or glass, or a blue colour, is intended.

The city whose product the chief offered must be consequently *בבל*, Babel, or Babylon, *בִּבְלִיָּה*, the Bābirush of the Persian cuneiform. There is some difficulty in deciding what is intended by the material *elestōt*, which is here mentioned as a substance which the chief of Eannar brought in its rough state, as well as manufactured, and also a quantity from Babel: it had been already mentioned in line 3, among the tributes of another people. Champollion fluctuates between the idea of porcelain¹⁰ and electrum.¹¹ In the vases offered as tribute by the Asiatic people, gold, silver, copper, and an opaque glass, coloured with streaks, are generally represented. Either this, or the fact of finding it over some object coloured blue, induced Champollion to think it was porcelain. Calling this material *x*, let us examine the connection in which it is found, and the reasons that there are for considering it a metallic body.

On the return of Sargon I.,¹² in his first year, is the *enumerating of the presents brought by his majesty when he returned from the wretched land of the Euphrat*,

¹⁰ Rosell, Gr. pp. 91, 120. A blue copper ore, used as colour, I am informed by Mr. Layard was anciently used in Egypt by the Assyrians.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 389; Gr. 649.

¹² Rosellini, M. E. *scena*, i.

of silver, of gold, of x, of copper, and of all precious stones.

In the treasury of Ramesses III. [so-called *Misumun*], at Medinet Haboo, which is the third hall to the left, are the following precious materials:

1000 sacks of gold.

Gold of Kash [Ethiopia].


1000 sacks of gold of the waters.

1000 ingots of gold of Nubia.

Gold of the land of Teh.

Electrum [kasha²²] of the divine land.

Electrum of P'hen-t [manufactured into vases and figures]

x of *teveru* or *farur*:  (lin. of Type 7) On the wall²³ it is represented like metal in a pile of rectangular ingots, like other metals, and precedes copper.

In the Ritual²⁴ it occurs in the following passages: *that gate of Seem-ru [Esh-mun] was made of bricks of clouds painted with x [blue], under the legs of that god, created in the day of the king Men-ka-ra.*

In that part of the Ritual²⁵ which refers to the pre-genital and pantheistic type of Amen, *this is what is to be said over the figure of the god, raising his arm, with two plumes on his head, his legs opened [bowed], his body [in the form] of a scorch, painted x [blue] on water [back ground or tinted] of electrum.*

It has been suggested by Dr. Hincks to me, that

²² Probably the Coptic KAKA.—BGA. Cf. Tetam, *Lex. Ling. Copi.* 1702.

²³ Champollion, *Monuments, Texte*, p. 164.

²⁴ Lepsius, *Text. Taf.* xxv. c, 60, line 11.

²⁵ *Ibid.* xxv. 12.

clausit is *mareiqan*, or tin; but this metal was hardly known at the period, and could not have been offered in the raw and unmanufactured state from the plain of Shinar: indeed it was too precious to be made into vessels of any dimension. Babylon might have procured it indeed from the straits of Bessa, but this is not very probable. The earlier spoils obtained by the Jews, as those of Jericho, consisted of gold and silver, vessels of iron and brass, which were put into the treasury of the Lord;¹⁹ and the wealth which tempted Achib from the same spoils was a Babylonian garment, and a gold wedge of fifty shekels' weight.²⁰ Although Babylon seems to have been chiefly famous for her woollen goods, her tapestries, carpets, and linen,²¹ yet the tribute from Mesopotamia was gold, silver, copper vessels, and precious stones.

I will now pass to the next line, 26:

13 *parset* weight is that year, with vessels [of gold and silver], brought with [all the other good things] from that great land; eight rings of silver, making a weight of 301 ingats, while stone one great block, and take²² wood

The remainder of the tribute is unfortunately indistinct, but it probably came from the North, and from the Ruten.²³ In the Theban tomb, P^hben-t, Peti, and the Ruten, all brought woods, but the greatest quantity

¹⁹ Joshua vi. 24.

²⁰ *Ibid.* vi. 21, 24.

²¹ Heron. *Idem*. 2. *Alcock*, *Ira*, 1817, p. 131. Herod. i. 195. Joseph. in *Aplon*, *Opuscul.* 1042.

²² The same word occurs in line 24.

²³ The metal here seems to have been brought in those ring ingats which are represented at Beit el Woolly and elsewhere: they are called *u-sh*, and are distinct from the wire or ingats, which are called by Dr. Black (Trans. Roy. Irish Acad. 1847, p. 190) *man*,—*u-wiglat*, *pesels*. Champollion, *Dic.* 411, calls them *slaps*.

from Peti appears to have been ebony, or a black wood which is subsequently mentioned.

In the next line we again pass to the affairs of Central Asia; for, restores line 27,—

[when he came, then his majesty erected a tablet in] Na-kuraina, to extend the frontiers of Kam [Egypt]—sledges of stone were brought to his majesty from the land of P'Aen-t in that year, 1685 measures of pearls, gold . .

There are two very distinct portions here. The replacing the tablet in Mesopotamia must have been on account of some political revolution, or still further extension of the empire: the next is the tribute from P'hun-t or P'hen-t. There is some difficulty about determining this people, and their direction. Champollion reads the name of this people as the *Libyans*,¹²¹ in which he is followed by Rosellini. In the grand festival in honour of the god Kheb or Harsaphes, celebrated by Ramses III. [Minnun], at Medinet Hahon, the negroes of P'hen-t participate in the honours of the festival.¹²² In the conquests of Sethos I., the P'hen-t are ranked amongst the northern enemies of Egypt, close to the Shasu.¹²³ Sir Gardner Wilkinson places them more south than the Ruten.¹²⁴ Mr. Osburn¹²⁵ considers them the people of Funon or #669, close to Mount Hor; but from the pictorial representation of this very tablet given by Mr. Hoskins¹²⁶ and Sir G. Wilkinson, it was evidently a country inhabited by a mixed population of red and black races. Yet the

¹²¹ Lettres Ecrites.

¹²² Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, Ser. ii, Plate xxviii. s. 14 The Shasu were most decidedly in Palestine.

¹²³ Rosellini, *M. E.* 122.

¹²⁴ *Manners and Customs*, Ser. i. pp. 264, 274.

¹²⁵ *Egypt, &c.* London, 1846, pp. 82, 83; *Cosmographie*, p. 165.

¹²⁶ *Æthiopia*, 41a, London.

same name is undoubtedly mixed up with the Shasu and the Khita.¹⁰⁷ Their subjugation appears to have been commenced by Amenemhat II. of the 12th dynasty,¹⁰⁸ and their name may contain the original element of *šai-š* and *Peru-i*, and represent, at the same time, a portion of the Philistines in Syria, and their settlements in the Marmarica among the black population of Libya. The stone they contributed was probably granite, for two obelisks of Syenitic, or rose granite, form a part of it in the tomb of the officer, and these are probably the very obelisks¹⁰⁹ subsequently erected at the gate of the granite sanctuary: the name of the stone which follows is *anaw*, of which a basket and a tall conical heap are seen in the Theban tomb, coloured red or dusky brown: it is the Coptic $\Delta\text{N}\Delta\text{M}\text{H}\text{E}$, and means *gem*, precious stones, generally,¹¹⁰ and is by no means restricted to the sense of pearl,¹¹¹ which came into Egypt from the fisheries of the Red Sea, and would render it necessary to place Phen-i to the east of Egypt. The following line (28) is a repetition of line 15, and, like that line, is so detached as not to be satisfactorily assignable to its proper nation. It reads—

. . . 114 oxen, 305 bulls, in all 419, [coming in boats laden] with ivory, ebony, strong hair or hides of goats, and all other good things of that land.

The Chev. Lepsius has restored doubtfully the first portion, and no reasonable doubt can be entertained of the cipher after bulls, nor after the totality, which,

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Rosellini, M. E. i. 122.

¹⁰⁸ Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, i. p. 45.

¹⁰⁹ As a proof of Ramesses II. in the Salher Papyrus, Select Papyr. Pl. 120: last line, it is stated of him that he had brought obelisks from Elephantine.

¹¹⁰ Peyron, Les. Ling. Copt. p. 2.

¹¹¹ As conjectured by Champollion, Gr. p. 30.

throughout the inscription, as lines 11, 16, always is equal to the previous ciphers. I translate here the word 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏 *hebent* 𓆎𓅓 *haben*, *ebenen*, by *chony*. It occurs also in lines 36 and 43. The value assigned to the plough 𓆎𓅓 is *heb* 𓆎𓅓 ¹¹² or *heb* 𓆎𓅓 ¹¹³ to plough, this single symbol here representing that sound. Now at Beit el Weelly the people of Kish bring tusks of ivory and logs of chony to Rameses II.; and in the Theban tomb the people of the southern Pefi, or "bow lands," probably the Phœnians, and the inhabitants of the happy West, or Euxesperides, bring chony and ivory to the king. It may therefore be supposed that this part of the tablet refers to the Western tributaries of Egypt. Wool was used in Egypt for stuffing sandals, at least, if not for several other purposes.¹¹⁴

In the next line (25) is part of a similar inscription: . . . [44 *ebent*] 60 balls, in all 104, coming in the boats laden with every good thing in that land, measured on the spot in the same manner. In the 34th year, then his majesty was in the land of the Tuhai [in his 10th expedition.]

If this is connected with the following line, the events were of a military nature; for, line 30 is . . . fortresses captured [in that year] were 2, surrendered on the banks of the Tuhasa I, total 3—the captives brought by the

¹¹² Cf. Young, Hier. Pl. vol. v.

¹¹³ Cf. line 16, a variation of 𓆎𓅓 for 𓆎𓅓 , 'ploughing'; this word for chony, with its full phonetic complement, is given in the tablet. Lepsius, Aegypti, Taf. ix.

¹¹⁴ The excellence of the goats of this part of the world was well known. Cf. Theophr. id. iii. 5. Phil. rom. c. 76. Yates, Text, Antiq. Soc., London, 1843, pp. 132, 133.

The restoration of *Chev'*. Lepsius in this passage is of a doubtful character; for "is that land" would be as good as in that year: cf. line 9, &c., and the part 𒌦 𒌦 𒌦 which generally winds up the sentence, is altogether erroneous. *Iukasa*, which also occurs in line 45, although mis-written 𒌦 𒌦 𒌦 𒌦 𒌦 for 𒌦 : in the first, I regard as the name of the Oxus or *Ṣḡṣ*, whose ancient aboriginal name was *Khodsha*,¹¹⁸ although in the Hebrew, *Gihon*. Nor would there be any difficulty in a march to the Oxus. The revolt of the Bactrians is stated by Diodorus to have been the subject on the palace of Qaymāndyan, and the passage of Tacitus carries *Ramesses* still further east. These may have been dreams; but as both wrote after the Alexandrian Greeks had studied the history of Egypt, it is more probable that they were true: nor do I see a greater difficulty than in the march of *Cambyses* to *Ethiopia*, in that of *Darius* to the *Tanais*, or in that of *Alexander* to the *Indus*. But once launched upon the *Euphrates*, a disciplined force must have been soon master of the plains of *Central Asia*.

In the next line (31) is part of a tribute formula, . . . with their children 40 [Araxes], 15 chariots worked with gold and silver, gold vessels, gold in rings, weighing 50 ingots, 8 purses, gold vessels of that kind, together with rings, 173 ingots' weight, [. . . bridle of] iron.

¹¹⁸ Ritter, *Erkände*, i. p. 512: the word 𒌦𒌦𒌦 means "the river," (*Reisner*, *de Sita*, n. 16, p. 32.) and is found prefixed to the names of the *Araxes*, the *Ganges*, the *Volga*, and foreign rivers; although, when put alone, designating "the river" (*Oxus*). *Rosenmüller*, *Bibl. Geogr. Central Asia*, i. p. 66. As it is unaccompanied by the determinatives of river, it probably means the *Quisra*, or region of the *Oxus*; but the determinative, as in *Nahardina*, cf. lines 18, 25, 61, may have been omitted. *Iukasa* is one of the imperial names of *Assur*.—*Lepsius*, *Tabl. XXXI.* n. 145, line 1.

This tribute probably came from the Ruten-*sa*, if the Chevalier Lepsius's restoration of the horses is correct, cf. line 32; but there is some ambiguity about the other part of this inscription: the terms *uten* འེུན་ and *as* ཨ་ seem to imply weight, the one of a greater weight and the other its sub-multiple; yet as the gold is always offered in the pictures in four forms—1, as elegant vases, or ornaments; 2, as rectangular ingots; 3, as circular rings; 4, as small bags or purses—it is possible that these four conditions are mentioned; and if we must suppose a weight, the *uten* [vase of Dr. Hincks] will be the greater or "ingot's weight," the *as*, the "purse's weight," as its subdivision; and as no higher number than thirteen parts are mentioned, probably in a double decimal system.

The subsequent line (32) not improbably contained the rest of the tribute,—

... wood, kam-wood, *sen*-wood together with
6 poles . . . of a . . . [pavilion?] . . . decorated with
brass, filled in with stones, along with all the good
things of that land. Now the tribute of Ruten in
that year was . . . brood mares.

In the Tibetan tongue are the Ruten bringing choice and rare woods. Kam or black wood might be supposed to be ebony, if it had not been mentioned under its proper name, *Achia*: it might be intended for *KAM* reeds, for the Ruten offer elegantly made mats, and the bamboo might have been classed as a reed by the Egyptians; or, we may suppose it to be gum-wood, the *seru* goma of the Talmud, the *resin* of the Greeks, the *gummus* of the Romans, and *gummi* of the Copts, (Peyr. Lex. Ling. Copt. p. 67.) *Sen* might also be *CAGE* (sow), the coarse stalk of flax, or even the celebrated sesamum; but the determinative pod has been

said to be that of an acacia, although it more resembles that of a bean. I must confess I do not know what particular plant is meant. I will now pass to the next line (33)—

. . . of the work of the country . . . ingots [6 pounds' weight], all gems, rubies [of lead] and iron, and 80 bricks of iron in its earth [i.e. iron ore], 11 bricks of lead, 12 ingots [pounds] of paint, gems, green felspar, emeralds (?)

Although the name of the people is here wanting, yet by comparing this part of the inscription with the Theban tomb, where the best materials are seen offered by the chiefs of the Southern Fouta or Libya, it is evident that these substances came from hence; and there is a basket of a green material called *assem*.

In the next line (34) is—

2080 jars of conserve of dates [delicious ?], 508 measures of wine, tala or tamba-wood, chariots, sea-wood, ken-ka-t-wood, with all the excellent wood of that land. Then all the lands came to his majesty, offering all other good things for his majesty to receive

The tribute here is apparently from the Rutu, who are represented bringing valuable wood: *tala* might be the guaiacum, which we know the Egyptians used, and the *kenka-t* may then be a species of the KENTU or fig-tree,—if these words are not names of some wooden furniture or implements.

In the 35th line is—

. . . all the chief woods in logs (?) to his majesty. The tribute of the chief of the Asi in that year was 108 bricks of iron, 2080 ingots of pitch, 5 bricks of lead, 1200 humps (?) of lead, 110 ingots' weight of glass [fix ?], 1 tusk of ivory

The commencement of the inscription undoubtedly

refers to the Ruten, or a cognate people. The Asl seem to have been an important people for their mineral wealth: besides lead, there is a variety of this metal called *takfi-ness*, perhaps an ore.

It is to be observed, that the expression which I believe to be "ingots" is never attached to iron or lead in this inscription; but that these metals are always reckoned by bricks, or pigs, as we call them, which is a strong presumption that the group for gold does not merely apply to weight but also to shape. The material *seft* I supposed to be pitch, the Coptic Ⲅⲓⲡⲓ¹⁰⁶ or Ⲅⲓⲡⲓ and the Hebrew נִפְתִּיחַ *neftih*; for the same substance is called ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲩ on the alabaster palette or slab of the 12th dynasty, with a vase for its determinative; and on a rectangular sarcophagus in the British Museum it has the ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲩ calathus vase, which appears determinative of objects of a piceous or oily nature. As, however, it is here reckoned by ingots or pigs, and not by vases, it is evident that the pitch was solid, not liquid, consequently petroleum or bitumen. This tribute might have come from Mesopotamia, where iron and lead abounded.¹⁰⁷ These people, Asl, are also known from other monuments, for they were vanquished subsequently by Seti I., and in the order after Kanana or Canaan, and before Mennus.¹⁰⁸ They may be the Is or His of Herodotus, the modern Ihs,¹⁰⁹ whence the mineral pitch came; although it

¹⁰⁶ Peyron, *Lex. Ling. Copt.* p. 136.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Herod. i. 188. Diod. iii. 4. Curt. i. 4, for the iron and lead cramps by which the great bridge of the Euphrates was held together; also the plating of the gates. *Abydenus* in Euseb. *Prep. Ev.* iii. 41.

¹⁰⁸ Rosellini, *M. E. Egipt.* tom. iii. *Table* i. p. 422.

¹⁰⁹ Rosenthaler, *Bibl. Geog. Central Asia*, vol. ii. p. 60.

was no doubt also supplied from the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea.

Continuing the inscription of the tablet (in line 36), total 64: 108 bulls, 170 calves, total 278, coming in boats laden with ivory and ebony, and all the true things of that land; the quota of Kush in the same manner. The tribute of the Vavut was . . . gold ingots . . .

It is evident that the preceding portion of this line refers to the tribute rendered by Kush or Ethiopia, which at Beit el Weelly is paid to Rameses II. in cattle, ivory, and ebony; which wood they must have procured in commerce from India. The tribute here seems prescriptive, and indicates the permanent hold which the Pharaohs had obtained over the soil. The term Kush is a fluctuating and uncertain territorial appellation: it is supposed to be the Kush of Scripture, the *CHUS* or *CHUSU* of the Copts, which, after all, is merely "the frontier." It follows always after the grand territorial divisions of the South; but the term Peti or Phuti for the present Nubia is found on the monuments, is found up to the second cataract from whence Kush or Ethiopia apparently commenced; and it is to be observed that the name of none of the great localities where the Pharaohs subsequently placed the temples of their deities is found amongst the conquered nations, which seems to prove an early military occupation of the country. In the next line (37)—[together with] all the other good things of that land, measured by the Vavut in the same manner. In the thirty-fifth year, then his majesty was in the land of the Taked in his tenth expedition, and his majesty approached the fortress of Aruana. Then was the assembly of the wretched fallen . . .

The Vavut, as a distant Ethiopian people, have

already occurred, and been explained in the consideration of this tablet; the only question is about the *Arsena*.¹⁰⁰ Although not precisely the same, it closely resembles the names of the fortresses of the Khita, recorded in the treaty of Ramesses II. with that people; and the Tahai, as we have already seen, were placed in that direction.

The next line (38) is much mutilated, and its sense obscure,—

*. . . of the disturbances of the world, their infinite number . . .
went along to fight with his majesty the stand
of the T[aharna], his majesty with them;
the stand made by the troops of his majesty every time
of reconnoitring; the bringing of the convey by his
majesty (?) with the time of ?*

This appears to refer to a march, but I candidly confess I am not certain of the translation here, neither do I know of a similar text to compare it with: the only restoration I have here made is the Tahenna, a people certainly not otherwise mentioned in the tablet, but yet known as early as the 12th dynasty, and with whom the Egyptian monarch might have come in contact. We hence pass, however, to events probably connected with the same part of the history (l. 39) of *Naharna* . . . each of them was about to fall down prostrate one after another (?) before his majesty, with the other prisoners led by his majesty himself from the land of *Tatana (?)*, the chiefs of *Naharna*.

The sense of this seems to have run on to the next line, which continues to refer to the same event; but here are the tributes (line 40),—

. . . two fighting [cavalries] . . . ingals' weight of brass,

¹⁰⁰ It might be the *Alusi*, who were placed at the confluence of the Zabatus and Tigris.

and other captured things brought by the troops of his majesty from . . . , 10 chiefs as prisoners, 180 horses, and 60 chariots

Comparing this line with 41, it would appear that the two fighting objects were called *mas*; they are not improbably the cuirass. Chariots, or harness and horses, in the tomb so often cited already, came from the North.

In the following line (41) we have—

15 fighting *Achests* (?),¹²¹ . . breast-plates, 5 . . brass welded with iron for the head, 5 wooden bows of the Khara, and girdles (?) made of

It is interesting here to find the Khara, or, as I believe, the people of Syria, mentioned, as well as to perceive that they were distinguished for the excellence of their bow-making. They are different from the Taru or Tyrians.¹²² The king does not appear to have conquered them, but only to have received their bows apparently from another people.¹²³ Seti I., on the contrary, was actively employed with them.

¹²¹ There is some difficulty in knowing what the objects mentioned in this line are: the *Idemur* or *Idemul* are mentioned in the Anastasi Papyrus, No. 1, Select Papyri, xxv, lines 1 & 2, where the person speaking says, "*I address my father, who has given orders millions of times; I have addressed those who bear Idemur (Achests of brother?) on the Akash.*" In another part of the same papyrus, the writer says, "*The arm of the noble (cuirass?) and the Idemur (Achest) were cut in the darkness,*" in an adventure, in which the chariot (?) and horse are also mentioned (Hib., xxx, line 8, p. 141). It would appear from these passages that a kind of helmet must be intended.

¹²² Cf. Select Papyri, Pl. ar. i. Anastasi, i, p. 21. Dr. Hincks, Transactions of British Archaeological Association, Sec. London, 1846, p. 254.

¹²³ Although the class of the Khara are recorded, (Select Papyri, Pl. xxviii, line 1, and Hincks, p. 262.) I cannot regard it as Chalybon or Helkon, for the fact of a galley passing between Egypt and Khara

In the next line (42)—

. . . 246 . . . 1 chariot worked
with gold, and 20 chariots worked with silver and gold.

What the three substances mentioned at the commencement of this line are, I do not know; they are all mineral, and are called *kar* or *ksi*, *rato*, *sah-ti*; *marten*¹⁴¹ is perhaps stibium: the chariots came from the northwards. From hence, the next line (43)—

. . . with ebony, and ivory, and all the good and true things of that land, together with the quota [of the Kush in the same manner; the tributes brought by the chiefs of the were] 21 cases of frankincense, 950 jars of conserves of dates or balsams.

This line is in a very mutilated condition, and the restoration of the Chevalier Lepsius requires correction. The end of the former line undoubtedly was such a quantity of cattle, coming with the boats laden with ebony and ivory, &c. This ebony and ivory must have come from the S. Peti, or from Ethiopia. I restore Kush, which after all must have been comprised in the previous geographical name. The ciphers here are imperfect; 21 is only part of a much larger number: neither is there any means of judging from whom the frankincense and conserves came, probably from a Syrian or Arabian people. In all cases the name of this people has disappeared from the tablet in the tomb: frankincense and bitumen come from the Ruten. This expression, according to the quota, is the

(Hirckh, p. 257, 258, and Papyrus Anastasi, iv. p. 3, Select Papyri, Fl. lxxxv.), shows that Khart was some part of the Syrian coast, and possibly of the Tyrian dominion, as conjectured by Mr. Oshorn, Egypt. Testimony, p. 78.

¹⁴¹ Rosellini, M. E. Tav. xxix. Cf. Lepsius, Tafl. xxi. 1443, 30. *Marten-ru* he is joined to *putiane*,

indicta gentibus tributa, to which I shall subsequently refer.

Line 44.—*in his thirteenth powerful expedition, then his majesty was evoking [the land of the Tabai] . . . the carved [vessels of that land.]*

This was, undoubtedly, preceding his 37th year, and is the last date which occurs on the tablet; and the tribute seems to have been from the Tabai, who continue to be subsequently mentioned.

Line 45.—*of wood by the inch, the cubit, and the ell—bastages from the banks of the Sukasa*

This shows that these people, probably of the Oxus, as has already been stated, contributed wood for their tribute.

Line 46.—*3 heads of goats, 1 lion's head, vases, all kinds of work from the Tabai.*

The heads of lions and of goats may either refer to the actual gold and silver heads of these animals, which are represented as offered by the people of Kela,¹²⁰ in the tomb of the masters of the ceremonies, so often cited, or else to vases decorated with these heads; and similar objects are offered in the reign of Thothismes III. by the people of Naharmian or of Mesopotamia. It is, perhaps, more probable that this portion of the tribute came from the Kila.

Line 47.—*5 tanks of ivory and offerings(?) of ivory and of sea-wood, 68 ingets' weight of*

There is no clue as to where this came from, except it is from the Baten, among whose offerings a material with the same name of *sea*, or *mesakh*, wrapped up in reeds or parcels like mats, is seen.

That the political interest still continued north, is evident from the subsequent line (48)—

¹²⁰ Wilkinson, *loc. cit.* Pl. iv.; Hoskins's *Stupa*, *loc. cit.*

Line 48.—*according to the measure of Tahai, with bushels of corn [. . . jars] of frankincense*

Line 49.—*240 measures of gems,¹²⁶ work of wretched Kask, 100 ingats' weight of gold*

These must have come either from Labya or the South. The Ethiopians could have easily procured pearls from the great fisheries of the Red Sea; and the abundance of its gold is mentioned in the dim accounts of the interior of Africa which have reached us through the credulous and uncritical Greek historians. Engraved stones, according to *Æschines*¹²⁷ in his Erycia, circulated among the Ethiopians instead of money; and these people enjoyed among the Greeks a spurious reputation for what was probably nothing more than the extraction of these valuable stones from the mines of the interior.

Line 50.—*16 prisoners, 77 cows and calves, approaching in the boats [laden with ivory and ebony, and all the good things of that land.]*

This has undoubtedly reference to the same Kask or Ethiopia.

Line 51.—*329 acres, 2 fly-flaps, with 1 gold ring¹²⁸ of 12 ingats' weight.*

These, for reasons already developed, must have come from the Ruten-ou.

Line 52.—*white calcareous stone, white mica [stone], natron, brown stone, all which are of that land.*

These should, apparently, come from the F'hen-t or Libya, in which direction the nation principally lay.

¹²⁶ Cf. Champ. Gr. Eg. p. 157, who translates the measure 'cassets of pearls.'

¹²⁷ Grotefend, in the *Nouv. Chron.* vol. i. p. 243.

¹²⁸ Cf. this part of the inscription with the 1st, *fabella*, presented by Thebeses III. Champ. Mon. cxxviii. cxxviii.

Line 53.—*sea-wood of that land, with all the good and true things of that land; then all approached proffering*

Line 54.—*of the Tahai, with each of the measures of frankincense and conserves*

Here we may probably restore,—
[with vases of silver and gold, of the fabric] of the Tahai.

This ends the whole of the continuous portion of the tablet; but there are a few more lines given, both in the copy of Sir Gardner Wilkinson and that of the Chevalier Lepsius: they probably formed part of the broken portion on the left hand. As they stand at present, it is impossible to restore them satisfactorily; all that can be done is to translate them, for the objects specified formed an important item in the statistics.

Line 55.—325 calves, 40 (male) large white antelopes and . . . gazelles . . . (probably from Libya.)

Line 56.—30 chariots worked with gold and silver, with painted poles pure wax [sheres]

§ This from Nubiana, and probably referrible to one of the tributes thence.

Line 57.—. . . bulls, 13 calves, 530 bulls, 84 asses, brass (?)

Here, again, probably from the east of Egypt. The tribute of asses is significant: most of the neighbouring countries used them for riding, and the Egyptians for outlers of their camp, and agricultural purposes.

Line 58.—*of the Tahai making to fly the*

Line 59.—2¹⁰⁰ worked by the wretched Kauh, and about 300 ingots (imperfect cipher) of gold

¹⁰⁰ I am uncertain what the word *maah* means; it occurs in connection with corn in the Ritual, Lepsius, *Taf. Taf. XXXII. c. 109*.

Line 60.—254 10 prisoners, pure men and pure women, cows, calves

Line 61.—Naharaina, horses and men, pure men . .

It is to be observed that the horses here are called *h-tar*, and not *semen*, as from the Ruten.

Line 62.—the prisoners [led by] the spirits of his majesty

Thus closes, unfortunately, one of the most important documents for the history of Central Asia. What additional importance it would have possessed had it been perfect, and revealed more fully the extent of the victories of Egypt!

There can be no doubt that this, or a similar inscription, was the identical one translated by the Egyptian priests to Germanicus, on the occasion of his visit to Thebes. Tacitus says, ¹²⁶—"Mox visit veterum Thebarum magna vestigia, et manebant structis molibus literæ Ægyptiæ præcoram opulentiam complectere: jussuque e senioribus sacerdotum patrium sermonem interpretari, referbat, habuisse quondam septingenta millia ætate militari: atque eo cum exercitu regem Pharnæm Libyæ, Æthiopiæ, Mediæque et Persiæ et Bactriæ ac Scythiæ positum: quosque terras Syriæ Armeniæque, et contigui Cappadocæ colunt, inde Bithynum, hinc Lycium ad mare imperio tenuisse. *Lepabantur et indictis pecuniis tributa, pondus argenti et auri, numerus armorum quævisque, et dona templis, edux atque odores, quosque copias frumenti, et cunctis utrasque quoque naves pederet, haud minus magnifica quam nunc vi Parthorum aut potentia Romana jubentur.*"

The latter part of this inscription so exactly coincides

line 5, and is said to be 4 cubits in length. Dr. Hacks has suggested to me that it means *suppose*.

¹²⁶ Annal. vi. 25, 4

with the language of the tablet, that it appears almost certain that this was the identical tablet read to Germanicus; and the difference of the name of the two monarchs may be thus explained. Arrived at the first propylon of Karnak, the exploits of Ramses II. would be explained to Germanicus, as they form the sculptures represented on that part of the edifice: when he reached the granite sanctuary, the tributes brought to Thothmes III. would be detailed to him; and the historian, already familiar with the name of the first monarch, might not have been careful enough to discriminate between his exploits and those of the second. Some instances of similar tributes are known. In the grand festival given by Ptolemy Philadelphus¹⁰¹ to the Alexandrians, the Ethiopians brought 600 tusks of elephants, 2000 logs of ebony, vessels of gold and silver containing the finest gold, 2400 dogs, men bearing trees, various animals, birds, and beasts, parrots and other birds from Ethiopia, in cages, 120 sheep, 300 Arabian sheep, 20 from the island of Nubia (Argo), 26 buffaloes white as snow, 8 from Ethiopia, 3 brown bears, 1 white one, 14 leopards, 16 panthers, 4 lynxes, 1 giraffe, 1 rhinoceros. In the account of these people, given in Scylax, they are described as selling the skins of stags, teeth of elephants, droves of domestic animals, richest furniture, bottles of ivory; and on the occasion of the queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon, that queen brought him 120 talents of gold, besides quantities of spices and incense. One, perhaps, of the most remarkable tributes is that mentioned by Julius Valerius, a writer of the fourth century, in his *Life of Alexander the Great*, as given by the Ethiopian queen, Candace, to that monarch. It

¹⁰¹ *Athen. lib. v.*

much resembles, indeed, similar letters written by the Roman emperors to their pretors in Gaul, but yet may be considered to embody the opinions or knowledge of the Romans respecting the products of Ethiopia. In her letter to Alexander,¹²⁰ the queen says,—"You will therefore have, as a proof of our friendship, 100 of the largest sized bricks of gold, 5 Ethiopian youths, 6 parrots, 6 phryges, and, beside these, a crown for our god Amun, very precious for its emeralds, pearls, and workmanship; added to these, 10 chests full of all kinds of pearls and gems, and 80 more chests of ivory, have I sent along with them, for your use and pleasure, as well as all kinds of animals of our country,—350 elephants, 6 pards, 80 rhinoceroses, 4 panthers, 90 dogs which hunt men, 300 bulls, and 1500 legs of ebony, which I will send as soon as you order them to be transmitted."

The value of this tablet, for the development of the history of Central Asia, is very great. Egypt was in her zenith; the tribute she then received was of immense value, and her empire was in contact with the great Assyrian monarchy,—a point of considerable interest in an historical view, as the recent

¹²⁰ Cl. Mûl, *Classe. Vet. Scs. Romæ*, t. vii. 1835, p. 195-206. "Ita. belis regis, illi ex talis calcitræ argumentum, dentem intercalos ead. grandissimas, Athiopas ingebes quinqs, pelticos sex, phrygasque sex, pterargos tres, Hammoni deo nostro coramæ, smaragdine, ac margaritis, rham torquatis, prediosorum. His et localis refectui- mee cijkasque murgitibus, rijkas pismorum ad domum an- mæmæ, charactereq. abis localis octaginta, sub vini arbas et debilis tal: leuonisque pismæ que sunt nostris, elephantos tre- centos quinquaginta, pardos sex, rhinoceroses octaginta, pantheras vero quatuor, canes etiam in homines effrenosissimos novaginta, tauris trecentos, virgas beloni mille virgas quingentas, que cum primis referendos paratis transmittantur.

discoveries of Mr. Layard are said to have brought to light cartouches of Egyptian monarchs discovered at Nineveh. Nor did the immediate successors of the great Thothmes lose at once the superiority which they had acquired. Under Thothmes IV.¹²⁰ the chiefs of Naharina appear in the most submissive manner before the king, and pray that they may receive the breath of life; while it is evident from the tomb of the officer in which they are found, that the military power of the empire was maintained in all its vigour. Under Amenophis II., we find an officer named Amenhept, entitled the royal attendant on the footsteps of his majesty in the North and South, who has gone from Mesopotamia¹²¹ to the Kalaa or Gallas (?) at the side of his majesty; an officer in the Tournah quarries records that he set up tablets in Mesopotamia;¹²² and Amenophis III., in the temple which he built at Soleb, did not fail to record his triumphs over Mesopotamia and Singara. Between this period and Sethos I. there is a blank which must be filled up by the hypothesis that Egypt lost her conquests; for Sethos I., in his first year, has to expel the Shos or Shepherds from Palaestum. He, however, a second time "extended his victories to the tips of the world, his seats to Mesopotamia:" but the conquest was ephemeral; for although Ramses II. probably went still farther north, the third Ramses was engaged with the frontier people of the coasts of Syria, the Philistines, who seem in the interval to have risen into power.

¹²⁰ Champ. Mon. tom. ii. Plate cix.

¹²¹ Huzar, Trans. Royal Irish Academy, vol. xix. Part vi. 4to, Dublin, p. 12.

¹²² Vyse, Journal, &c., Lond. 1843—Tournah Quarries, Plate ii.

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EARTH AND ITS HISTORY

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